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## NOTES ET DOCUMENTS

### JERUSALEM IN EARLY ISLAM: THE ESCHATOLOGICAL ASPECT

BY

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The development of the idea of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam is mainly reflected in Muslim traditions belonging to the literary genre of *faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis* (The Praises of Jerusalem), most of which were composed during the seventh and the eighth centuries.<sup>1</sup> An extremely important aspect of these traditions was the city's unique role in the eschatological picture and in the day of judgement. In fact Muslim attitude to the matter of the end is reflected in a large complex of conceptions such as reward and punishment, heaven and hell, this world and the world to come, resurrection and the day of judgement, messianism, redemption, and more. Such conceptions likewise developed under the influence of the Judaeo-Christian tradition and against the background of the historical reality of the Muslim community, especially during the seventh and the eighth centuries (first two centuries of the *hiǧra*).<sup>2</sup> In the framework of this article I emphasize those aspects which elicit the issue of Jerusalem, but I shall not be able to enlarge the other issues.

a. Jerusalem itself is not mentioned or hinted in the Qur'ān as the scene of the last drama of humankind. The connection of Jerusalem (and of other cities and places), to the matters of the end emerged in the Qur'ānic interpretation and in the *ḥadīth* literature after Muḥammad's death, also as a part of study and absorption of Jewish and Christian materials.<sup>3</sup> An important place in that literature was reserved

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<sup>1</sup> For basic bibliography see e.g., O. Livne-Kafri, 'The Early *Šī'a* and Jerusalem', *Arabica* 48 (2001), pp. 112-113, notes 1-2. Cf. also *idem*, 'The Muslim Traditions "in Praise of Jerusalem" (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity', *Annali* 58 (1998), pp. 165-192.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *idem*, 'Some Notes Concerning Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999), pp. 71-94; *idem*, 'Some Notes on Muslim Apocalyptic Literature in Light of the Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Traditions' (accepted for publication in *Studia Islamica*).

<sup>3</sup> Not without controversy; see M.J. Kister, "'*ḥaddīthū 'an banī isrā'ila wa-la-ḥaraja*'", *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), pp. 215-239, where he discusses in detail the debate among Muslim scholars on whether or not it is lawful to rely on Jewish or Christian sources. Cf. J.W. Hirschberg, 'The Sources of Muslim Traditions concerning Jerusalem', *Rocznik*

for the *fitan* and *malāḥim*, to which the 'Canonical Collections' of *ḥadīṭ* also dedicated special chapters. Prophecy and fortune telling were likewise assigned a place in Muslim apocalyptic literature, which also deals with the *mahdī*, a kind of Muslim messiah, who sometimes appears identical with 'Īsā (Jesus) and an anti-messiah, a Muslim antichrist generally called *al-daḡḡāl*, neither of which is mentioned in the Qur'ān. As in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic traditions, basically two major levels are distinguished in the eschatological picture of Jerusalem: a. the remote events of the day of judgement and the period leading up to it, generally replete with disaster and horror (*aṣṣā'at al-sā'a*, the signs of the hour [of the resurrection]) and b. the very actual reality of the Muslim community presented in apocalyptic depictions, which accordingly reflect religious, social, and political conditions.<sup>4</sup>

b. The main groups involved in the Muslim apocalyptic traditions on Jerusalem were Jewish converts to Islam, political circles, including Umayyad caliphs, ascetics, and Qur'ānic commentators,<sup>5</sup> although various scholars, mainly in the field of *ḥadīṭ*, or *qussās*, storytellers, and preachers, contributed as well.<sup>6</sup> Some of the relevant information follows.

#### b1. Jewish converts

Jews who converted to Islam were an extremely important factor in the creation of the Muslim apocalyptic traditions, including those on Jerusalem. Jewish knowledge (including of Hebrew) could support interpretations of Qur'ānic verses; Jews could also identify ancient sacred sites (or sites perceived as such), or identify their apocalyptic importance. They were also perceived as competent men who combined personal ability to predict the future with the knowledge of old prophecies in the scriptures. The most important personality was Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a Yemenite Jewish scholar who converted to Islam during the caliphate of Abū Bakr or 'Umar, and who for many years lived in the Syrian town of Ḥimṣ.<sup>7</sup> According to an old prophecy related by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Jerusalem was promised that *al-farūq* (the epithet of the caliph 'Umar) would clear away the dunghill that the Byzantines put

*Orientalistycny* 17 (1951-1952), pp. 314-350; O. Livne-Kafri, 'Christian Attitudes Reflected in the Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem' *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 54 (2004), pp. 347-375.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition* (above, note 2), e.g., pp. 73-74, 80-81. Cf. D. Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and Jihād', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), p. 67, a division of Muslim apocalypses within two frameworks: the historical apocalypse and the metahistorical apocalypse.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., the identification of the wall mentioned in Su. *al-ḥadīd*, 13 with the eastern wall of Jerusalem, in Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Muṣarrāf b. al-Muraḡḡā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Ḥalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Sām*, ed. O. Livne-Kafri (Shfaram, 1995), pp. 129-130, no. 159.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic* (above, note 2), pp. 79-90; cf. concerning circles involved in traditions of 'the Praises of Jerusalem' in I. Hasson, 'Muslim View of Jerusalem — The Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth', in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, eds. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem, 1996), pp. 363-364.

<sup>7</sup> See Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic* (above, note 2), pp. 80-81, notes 45-48. On Ka'b see M. Schmitz, 'Ka'b al-Aḥbār', *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 316-317; W. Madelung, 'Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31 (1986), p. 143.

on Temple Mount.<sup>8</sup> Indeed some *ḥadīth* passages in ‘biblical style’, or paraphrases, such as ‘in a revealed book of God’, ‘it is written in the Torah’, and the like, might refer to the current affairs of the Muslim community.<sup>9</sup> An example is the description in eschatological coloration of the ceaseless warfare against the Byzantines on the coasts of Palestine and Syria during the seventh and the eighth centuries AD. This tradition speaks of Palestine and Jerusalem, the destinations of Abraham’s migration (*muḥāḡar Ibrāhīm*), as God’s most beloved places. In a promise to the patriarch Abraham, God said, ‘In the end of days [*idā kāna āḥīr al-zamān*] I will bring there the best of my servants to fight the sons of Esau [the Byzantines].<sup>10</sup> Ibrāhīm asked: O Lord, in which place there? He answered, On the shore which is at the southern side of Jerusalem’.<sup>11</sup>

In one tradition Jerusalem as the place of the resurrection is connected to Saḥīyya, a widow of the prophet Muḥammad, who visited the Mount of Olives and prayed there. According to some versions she said that this was the place where the people would be separated on the day of resurrection for heaven and for hell.<sup>12</sup> If we accept the authenticity of the tradition, this might be connected with the Jewish

<sup>8</sup> H.Z. Hirschberg ‘Temple Mount in the Arab Period’ (638-1099) in *Muslim Traditions and in the Historical reality*, *Yeruśalaim Ledoroteha* (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 112 (in Hebrew).

<sup>9</sup> Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic* (above, note 2), pp. 81-82, notes 54-59. The authenticity of Muḥammad’s mission was likewise recognized through Jews and Christians and their ‘knowledge of the scriptures’: cf., e.g., O. Livne-Kafri, ‘A note on Some Traditions of *Faḏā’il al-Quds*’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991), pp. 78-80, on a certain type of interpretation of Jewish scriptures (Isaiah and Deuteronomy, in paraphrases) somewhat in the spirit of Christian *typologia*.

<sup>10</sup> On the usage of the term ‘Sons of Esau’ (Sons of Edom), to denote the Byzantines in Jewish sources see Hirschberg, *Temple Mount* (above, note 8), pp. 115-116; Y. Even Shmuel, *Midrešei Geula* (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1954), p. 162. On a usage in the Christian tradition to denote the Greeks and the Romans see the Syriac work of Aphrahat, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, ed. and transl. D.I. Parisot and A.R. Graffin, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Paris, 1894), pp. 220, 229.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡa (above, note 5), p. 160, no. 212. Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 1), pp. 176-177; *idem*, ‘Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days’, *Cathedra* 86 (1998), p. 26 (in Hebrew). This article is an important source for the present article, but is different from it in many respects. The term *āḥīr al-zamān*, the last time, in the end of the days (see also Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, ‘al-Ināfa fi Rutbat al-Ḥilāfa’, eds. A. Arazi and A. Elad, *Israel Oriental Studies* 8 [1978], p. 261; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, MS British Museum Or. 9449, f. 51b), might, like the Hebrew expression *āḥarit hayamim* (the end of the days), also refer to ‘a certain time in the future’, generally with an eschatological connotation. On the biblical Hebrew expression cf. B. Oppenheimer, ‘From Prophetic Eschatology to Apocalyptic’, in *Messianism and Eschatology*, ed. Z. Baras (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 27 (in Hebrew). In our tradition it appears (as a prophetic usage), in the sense of ‘a day shall come . . . and’.

<sup>12</sup> See Ibn al-Muraḡḡa (above, note 5), p. 236, no. 350. Cf. Ibn al-Firkāh, ‘Kitāb Bā’it al-Nuḥūs ilā Ziyārat al-Quds al-Mahrūs’, *JPOS* (1935), p. 55, bottom; Muḡīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *Kitāb al-Uns al-Ġalīl bi-Ta’rīḥ al-Quds wa-l-Ḥalīl* (Cairo, 1283 AH), vol. 1, p. 236; Muṣṭafā As’ad al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā’if al-Uns al-Ġalīl fi Taḥā’if al-Quds wa-l-Ḥalīl*, MS. The Hebrew University, f. 22a. On pilgrimage to the Mount of Olives see also the testimony about the ascetic ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Zakariyyā’ (d. 117 AH) stating that whenever he went to Jerusalem he would go to the Mount of Olives [Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīḥ Madīnat Dimasq*, ed. Š. Fayṣal (Damascus, 1982), p. 413].

origin of Ṣafīyya.<sup>13</sup> Some traditions introduced by Jewish converts show how much they were still attached to their Jewish heritage, as they express typical Jewish expectations of redemption, lament the destruction of the Temple, and yearn for the rebuilding of the Temple. These traditions were also styled in an apocalyptic manner, and they seem to echo a certain eschatological tension among Jews who embraced Islam.<sup>14</sup> An important tradition of this sort is also attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. Of him it is said, 'He found in one of the books: Rejoice, Jerusalem (ʿĪrūšalāyīm), that is to say *bayt al-maqdis* and the Rock (*al-ṣaḥra*) and it is called the Temple [*al-haykal: heḥal* in Hebrew]. I will send you my servant 'Abd al-Malik and he will build you and embellish you, and I shall restore *bayt al-maqdis* to its former sovereignty (*mulk*) and I shall crown it with gold and silver and pearls, and I shall send to you my people, and I shall place my throne on the Rock, and I am God, the Lord, and David is the king of the sons of Israel'.<sup>15</sup> This is an obvious expression of expectations of the Jews, who linked the reconstruction of the Temple to a renewal of worldly rule. The Temple is identified with the Dome of the Rock, 'a new Temple'; 'Abd al-Malik is executing a divine command. The conclusion of the tradition introduces another important element in Jewish eschatology, the 'House of David'.<sup>16</sup>

Other traditions connect the rebuilding of the Temple with the rise of Islam, and this may be an echo of eschatological tension in circles of Jewish converts. Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) quoted the following tradition on the authority of Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraḏī, a man of Jewish origin: 'God revealed Himself to Jacob and said: I shall send from your descendants kings and prophets, till I send the Prophet

<sup>13</sup> See V. Vacca, 'Ṣafīya bint Ḥuyaiy', *ET*.

<sup>14</sup> H. Lazarus-Yafeh believes that messianism and redemption are not central themes in the religious thinking of Islam. See H. Lazarus-Yafeh, 'Is There a Concept of Redemption in Islam?' in *Types of Redemption, Contribution to the Theme of the Study-Conference at Jerusalem*, July 1968, eds. R.J.Z. Werblowski and C.J. Bleeker (Leiden, 1970), pp. 51 ff.; See also Livne-Kafri, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions* (above, note 11), p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), pp. 63-64, no. 50. Cf. Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḏā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 86, no. 138; See also Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, *Kitāb al-Mustaḡṣā fī Faḏā'il al-Masḡūd al-Aqṣā*, MS. Escorial 1767, f. 28a. Cf. the discussion in Livne-Kafri, *A Note on Some Traditions of Faḏā'il al-Quds* (above, note 9), p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. Linder, 'Jerusalem as a Focal Point in the Conflict between Judaism and Christianity', *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, (Jerusalem, 1979) p. 8, discussing Constantine the Great in Greek and Eastern liturgy in the form of the figures of David and Solomon, the builders of biblical Jerusalem. See a tradition which tells about a man who was asked why was he moving to Jerusalem. He answered: 'It came to my knowledge that there is always in Jerusalem (or: there is still) a man who acts according to the way of the family (the descendants) of David'. This may reflect the conception of the perpetuity of the House of David in its messianic sense. See Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 185, no. 264; *Faḏā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Ṣām* (anon.), MS Cambridge Qq 91/2, f. 36b; Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Mīknāsī, *Kitāb fīhi Faḏā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḏā'il al-Ṣām*, MS Tübingen 25, f. 27a; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Muḡīr al-Ḡarām bi-Faḏā'il al-Quds wa-l-Ṣām*, MS Paris 1667, f. 89b; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kanḡī, *Faḏā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḏl al-Ṣalāt fīhā*, MS Tübingen 26, f. 81b.

of the *ḥaram* whose nation will build the Temple (*ḥaykal*) of Jerusalem, and he is the seal of the prophets and his name is Aḥmad'.<sup>17</sup> In the name of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, the Jewish convert, a kind of 'new covenant' with the nation of Muḥammad is spoken of: 'This House (*bayt al-maqdis*) complained before God, may He be exalted, about the destruction, and God revealed Himself: I manifest to you a new Torah, which means, the Qur'ān, and new inhabitants, which means the nation of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. They will hover towards you like the hovering of the eagle, and they will long for you as the dove longs for its eggs and they will enter you prostrating and bowing . . .'.<sup>18</sup> As noted Jews could also identify ancient sacred sites (or sites perceived as such) and identify their apocalyptic importance.<sup>19</sup>

## b2. Ascetics

The *zuhhād*, Muslim ascetics, were greatly interested in the Jewish and Christian heritage, and apparently were especially influenced by the model of Christian monks and hermits. Many ascetics were occupied with eschatological matters, mainly the individual aspect, because of their great piety and their intense fear of God's judgement, which might send people to the fire of hell. The idea of the sanctity of Jerusalem was largely developed by ascetic circles.<sup>20</sup> According to one tradition, the famous ascetic, Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. ca. 780), regarded his period as 'the time of the punishments', most probably in an apocalyptic perception. He urged his friends to leave 'this world' and go 'to the Holy Land and the mountains of Jerusalem . . . and he pointed to the mountain of Jerusalem . . .'.<sup>21</sup> This tradition also refers to the ascetic ideal of retirement from the company of men in order to devote attention entirely to God, but sometimes to avoid participating in the civil wars that were depicted as a part of the last events. Here the location was the environs of Jerusalem, a dwelling place of Christian monks as well. The tradition might also echo another important concept, basically derived from the Judaeo-

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Kutāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* (Leiden, 1904-1940), vol. 1, part 1, p. 107.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 153-154, no. 195; cf. Muḡīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Ḡalīl* (above, note 12), vol. 1, pp. 203-204; al-Luqaymī, *Latā'if al-Uns* (above, note 12), f. 5a; al-Miknāsī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (above, note 16), f. 20b-21a; for words of consolation to Jerusalem and the ruined Temple see also Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), pp. 154-155, no. 197-198.

<sup>19</sup> According to a tradition, Ka'b al-Aḥbār (originally a Jew himself), had to pay to a certain Jewish scholar in Jerusalem (probably an inhabitant of the city) so that he would show him the site of 'the rock upon which Solomon son of David stood on the day when he completed the building of the Mosque [the Temple]' (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā [above, note 5], p. 129, no. 158). Ka'b's stepson is the informant who enumerated the apocalyptic traits of Jerusalem before the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (cf. note 27).

<sup>20</sup> This was essentially the theory presented by S.D. Goitein in his article 'The Sanctity of Palestine in Muslim Piety', *Yediot*, 12 (1946), pp. 120-126 (in Hebrew). The English version was published in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 135-148. See also O. Livne-Kafri, 'Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), pp. 124-125.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 190, no. 272a. On Ibrāhīm b. Adham see R. Jones, 'Ibrāhīm b. Adham', *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 985-986.

Christian tradition: a place of refuge for believers in apocalyptic periods. Many traditions emphasize the importance of Jerusalem and Syria in that respect.<sup>22</sup>

### b3. The Umayyads

Various political tendencies were involved in the creation of apocalyptic traditions. Eschatology played an extremely important role in the sanctification of Syria-Palestine and Jerusalem, and this aspect was promoted by great Umayyad rulers: Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty (661-680), 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (685-705) the builder of the Dome of the Rock, and his son al-Walīd (705-715).<sup>23</sup>

Jerusalem appears in many Muslim traditions as the land of the gathering for the final judgement and of the resurrection (*arḍ al-maḥṣar wa-l-manṣar*), following similar conceptions in Judaism and Christianity.<sup>24</sup>

The importance of Jerusalem and *al-Šām* as *arḍ al-maḥṣar wa-l-manṣar* seems in fact to be an early feature in the glorification of the Holy Land. This eschatological element is extremely important in the halo of sanctity attached to Jerusalem, and was also used as an argument in political controversies. Mu'āwīya, the first Umayyad caliph bent on extolling his own position, said to a delegation from Iraq: 'You have come to the best caliph, and to the Holy Land and to the land of the gathering (for the resurrection) and you have come to a land in which are the graves of the prophets'.<sup>25</sup> The Rock is eschatologically identified as the stage of the final drama of humanity, namely the resurrection and the last judgement.<sup>26</sup> This is also associated to the narratives about the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who showed personal interest in this aspect of Jerusalem and the Rock. One tradition concerns Nūf al-Bakkālī, who was the son of Ka'b's wife. In answer to 'Abd al-Malik's question he enumerated the merits of Jerusalem in eschatological terms.<sup>27</sup>

A rare piece of information found in the commentary (*tafsīr*) of Muḥammad b. Ġarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) alludes to 'Abd al-Malik's involvement in favor of the Rock, upon which he built the impressive (and expensive) Dome. It tells of a debate over the meaning of a Qur'ānic verse about the leveling of the mountains in the end 'They ask thee concerning the mountains; say: My Lord will uproot them and scatter them as dust' (Su. *Ṭā-Hā*, 105). One of the attendants said that the Rock

<sup>22</sup> See Cf. our notes 86-93.

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., Hasson, *Muslim View of Jerusalem* (above, note 6), pp. 364-365. Cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1995), *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. e.g., Livne-Kafri, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 1), pp. 182-184.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Faḥrī, *Muḥṣar Kūtāb al-Buldān* (Leiden, 1885), p. 115. The answer is very interesting: 'A proximity to the land of the gathering will not help the infidel, and being far from it will not harm the believer'; cf. I. Hasson, 'The Literature in Praise of Jerusalem in Islam (*Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*)', in M. Sharon (ed.), *Notes and Studies on the History of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 46 (in Hebrew).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. O. Livne-Kafri, 'The Origin of Jerusalem's Position as a Holy City in Islam', *Maḡallat al-Mu'allim* 21 (1997), p. 171 (in Hebrew), and especially in Elad (above, note 23), p. 163.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 187, no. 267; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 23, no. 28; Ibn Šaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Ḥaḡira* (Damascus, 1962), p. 188. On Nūf al-Bakkālī see Ibn al-Muraḡḡā, p. 106, no. 112 (there Nūf speaks of the four rivers of paradise that issue from beneath the Rock).

(*al-ṣaḥra*) would not have a special role on the day of resurrection, contrary to Ka'b al-Aḥbār who claimed that 'in the day of resurrection the Rock shall be the place for the foot of Allāh (*al-Raḥmān*)'. 'Abd al-Malik's silence seems to signify support of Ka'b's view.<sup>28</sup>

These are only some examples of the circles involved in the creation of an apocalyptic tradition concerning Jerusalem. As stated, it is not easy to distinguish these circles sharply.

### c. The last drama of humankind: some pictures

As mentioned, Jerusalem and *al-Šām* appear in many Muslim traditions as the land of the gathering for the last judgement and of the resurrection (*arḍ al-maḥṣar wa-l-manšar*). The main site is generally the Rock, the place of the judgement. One tradition that affirms the legitimacy of such a role for the Rock, also reflects a controversy:

'Have you perceived what the people believe regarding this rock? Is it true that we have to follow, or is it something originating from the book [of Jews or Christians], so that we should leave it? Both of them said: Glory be to God! Who doubts about it? When God, may He be exalted, ascended from it (*istawā*) to Heaven, He said to the Rock of Jerusalem: This is my place (*maqām*), and the place of my Throne in the day of resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*), and of the assembly of my servants, and this is the place of my paradise at its right side, and my hell at its left side, and I shall set my scales in front of it; I am God, the Judge of judgement-day (*dayyān yawm al-dīn*). After that He ascended to Heaven'.<sup>29</sup>

### c1. The Rock is the place of sounding the trumpet

Some Qur'ānic verses regarding the events of the last day obtain 'geographical expression' in Jerusalem. Some commentaries on the sounding of the trumpet, mentioned in the Qur'ān calling to resurrection, identify the Rock as the place of sounding. An interpretation of the verse, 'And listen thou for the day when the caller shall call from a near place' (Su. *Qāf*, 41) is cited by Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (eleventh century AD) from Muqātil b. Sulaymān, an early Qur'ān commentator (d. 159/768): '[The angel] Isrāfīl shall stand on the rock of Jerusalem and he will blow the trumpet and say: O you, the rotten bones and the skins torn to pieces, and the cut hair! Your God orders you to assemble for the reckoning [of the day of judgement]'.<sup>30</sup> Muqātil also identifies the blower of the trumpet as 'Isrāfīl, may peace be

<sup>28</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḡarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmī' al-Bayān* (Cairo, 1954), vol. 16, p. 212. On the scholarship of 'Abd al-Malik himself see Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rīḥ* (Beirut, 1385-1386), vol. 4, p. 520.

<sup>29</sup> This tradition is quoted by I. Hasson in his introduction to al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* (above, note 15), p. 16; See also al-Ḥanaṭī, *al-Mustaḡṣā* (above, note 15), f. 35a; cf. al-Miknāsī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (above, note 16), f. 43b; al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā'if al-Uns* (above, note 12), f. 16b. For a theological discussion see O. Livne-Kafri, 'Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis (The merits of Jerusalem): Two Additional Notes', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19 (2001), pp. 63-66.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 261, no. 399 quoting from Muqātil b. Sulaymān. Muqātil's chapter is in fact the first arranged tract on the Praises of Jerusalem annexed to Su. *al-isrā'*, 1 (identified first by M.J. Kister, 'A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem', *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 [1981]), pp. 185-186). Cf.

on him, standing on the rock of Jerusalem which is the nearest place on earth to heaven, at a distance of eighteen miles, and all the creatures will hear and they will assemble in Jerusalem and it is the middle of the earth, and this is the "nearer place" . . .<sup>31</sup> The identification of the Rock as the sounding place appears in other traditions in Ibn al-Murağğā's book and in different commentaries to the Qur'ān.<sup>32</sup>

One tradition quotes Ibn 'Abbās concerning the 'near place':

'This is a day in which God will order Isrāfil who will stand on the Rock of Jerusalem and say to him: Blow the trumpet . . . and he will lengthen it and spread it [the trumpet] . . . he will call and the call will be heard to a distance of one thousand years and that is his saying: 'from a near place'; and concerning what you asked which is the thing Isrāfil will call with . . . he will call while the trumpet is in his mouth and the width of the circle of his mouth is like the width of heaven and earth and it is made of light, and then he will call: O you, the rotten bones and the skins torn to pieces, and the cut hair! Arise to your Lord . . .'<sup>33</sup>

Another Qur'ānic verse which speaks of the infidels, who 'shall come forth from the tombs hastily, as if they were hurrying unto a waymark' (Su. *al-Ma'ariğ*, 43), is also connected to the Rock. According to a certain interpretation they will hurry to the Rock of Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup> According to another tradition, 'hell will be opened from this valley, namely the valley of *ğahannam* [hell] and paradise will be opened from the mosque, namely the mosque of Jerusalem'.<sup>35</sup>

c2. As mentioned before, hell is stated to be located beside paradise in Jerusalem. Here it seems that Muslim commentaries on the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth* were influenced by Jewish and Christian conceptions (the proximity to the resurrection and place of the judgement, after which the wicked will go to hell and the righteous will inherit paradise). There are many traditions that speak of Jerusalem and the Rock

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al-Wāsitī (above, note 15), p. 89, no. 145; Ġalāl-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kūṭāb al-Durr al-Mantūr fi al-Tafsīr bi-l-Ma'tūr* (Cairo, 1314), vol. 6, p. 110 (quoting al-Wāsitī and Ibn 'Asākir); *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon. above, note 16), ff. 55a-55b. On Isrāfil see A.J. Wensinck, 'Isrāfil', *EP*, vol. 4 (1978), p. 211. According to him the origin of the name is the Hebrew word *srafiim*. On the entire issue see in detail Livne-Kafri, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions* (above, note 11), pp. 31-34.

<sup>31</sup> Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, MS. Sarai Ahmad III, no. 74, f. 169a, line 15. Cf. Hirschberg (above, note 3), p. 328.

<sup>32</sup> See Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 111, no. 124. Cf. al-Wāsitī (above, note 15), p. 88, no. 143; al-Ṭabarsī, *Mağma' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1954-1957), vol. 26, p. 117 below. Cf. Ibn al-Murağğā, p. 111, no. 126; al-Zasmaḥṣārī, *al-Kaššāf* (Calcuta, 1856-1867), vol. 2, p. 1407; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm* (Cairo, 1952), vol. 4, p. 230; al-Maqdisī, *Muṭīr al-Garām* (above, note 16), f. 7a; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Kūṭāb Faḍā'il al-Quds al-Šarīf*, MS Princeton 586, f. 29b-30a; Yāqūt, *Muğam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1975), vol. 5, 166.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 240, no. 359.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112, no. 127; p. 239, no. 355.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254, no. 387. In a commentary to Su. *Hūd*, 40 ('Until, when Our command came, and the oven boiled . . .') Muqātil states, 'Allāh, may He be exalted, said to Moses: Go to Jerusalem, because my fire of hell is there and my light and my oven' (Muqātil, *Tafsīr* [above, note 31], f. 120a; cf. Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 259, no. 399.

(*al-ṣaḥra*) as the place of paradise, the source of the four rivers of paradise; it is told of a divine light descending from Eden to the mosque of Jerusalem and of an open gate from paradise, from which mercy and pity come down on Jerusalem; Jerusalem is one of paradise's cities in this world; the source of drinking water in this world is located under the Rock; there is a symmetry and parallel lines between paradise in the seventh heaven (or a temple in the seventh heaven) and *bayt al-maqdis* and the Rock, etc.<sup>36</sup>

Following the Jewish legend, the place of hell is identified with the Valley of Joshaphat, but is confused with the Valley of Hinnom, because the Arabic name of the Valley of Joshaphat is *wādī ḡahannam* (the valley of hell).<sup>37</sup> It was related that 'the wall' which Allāh mentioned in the Qur'ān (Su. *al-ḥadīd*, 13) 'and a wall shall be set up between them, having a door in the inward whereof is mercy, and the outward thereof is chastisement' — is the eastern wall of the the mosque of Jerusalem, 'in the inward whereof is mercy, and the outward thereof is chastisement', namely *wādī ḡahannam*.<sup>38</sup> It was told of 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit that he was seen standing on the eastern wall of Jerusalem and weeping. The reason was explained by a saying of his: 'The messenger of God brought to our knowledge that he saw hell from here';<sup>39</sup> or according to another tradition that 'he saw from here an angel upturning burning-coals'.<sup>40</sup> Some traditions are connected with a judicial question of whether praying in the churches of the Christians in the Valley of Joshaphat is lawful (probably against similar practices amongs Muslims). Legitimacy is requested in the actions of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb. One tradition tells that 'Umar, 'after he conquered Jerusalem, he passed by the Church of Mary may Peace be on her, which is located in the valley, and he prayed there; later on he repented and said: that is because of a saying of the Prophet, may peace be on him: this valley is from the valleys of hell'. Another tradition says that he prayed twice in

<sup>36</sup> O. Livne-Kafri, 'Jerusalem, the Navel of the World in Muslim Tradition', *Cathedra* 69 (1993), pp. 79-105 (in Hebrew).

<sup>37</sup> On the Valley of Jehoshaphat see Z. Vilnai, *The Legends of Palestine: Jerusalem and Judaea* (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 187 ff. (in Hebrew). There, p. 193, he quotes a Jewish saying of the sages that the entrance to hell is in the Valley of Ben Hinnom in the southern side of Jerusalem. On the confusion between the Valley of Ben Hinnom and the Valley of Jehoshaphat in the Christian tradition see O. Limor, *Christian Traditions of Mount Olives in the Byzantine and Arab Period*, M.A. Thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1978, p. 135 (in Hebrew).

<sup>38</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 129, no. 159; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15) no. 17; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manīūr* (above, note 30), vol. 6, p. 174. Cf. al-Zasmaḡṣārī, *al-Kāṣṣāf* (above, note 32), vol. 2, p. 145; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (above, note 32), vol. 4, p. 309. Ibn Kathīr has reservations as regards Ka'b al-Aḡbār's saying that the gate mentioned in the Qur'ān is The Gate of Mercy in Jerusalem, 'because of his *isrā'iliyāt* and his nonsenses'.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 130, no. 160; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), no. 14. 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit d. in 34 AH. He was the judge of Filastīn and it is even said concerning him that he was 'in charge' of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā [above note 5], p. 193, no. 277). See on him Ḥayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'ām* (Beirut, 1980), vol. 3, p. 258.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā, (above, note 5), no. 161; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), no. 16; al-Luqaymī, *Latā'if al-Uns* (above, note 12), f. 19a.

the church which is in *wādī ḡahannam* and he said later on: 'It was written of us that I should kneel praying . . . on a gate from the gates of hell'.<sup>41</sup> A clear reservation against prayer in the Christians sites of the Valley of Joshaphat and on the Mount of Olives is also expressed in a saying attributed to Ka'ḅ al-Aḥbār.<sup>42</sup> Dreams are also a source of information concerning hell and paradise in Jerusalem, for example a dream of the Prophet Muḥammad on a night journey to the Holy Land<sup>43</sup> and a night dream of a man who was considered to be one of the *abdāl*-saints on 'Ašūrā' night of 335 AH.<sup>44</sup> In the Guide to the Pilgrims included in 'The Praises of Jerusalem' of Ibn al-Muraḡḡā, the Gate of Mercy (*bāb al-rahma*) overlooking the valley of Joshaphat was chosen to be the place in which the pilgrims 'should ask of Allāh paradise, and ask of him a shelter from the fire of hell', 'because the *wādī* which is behind it is the *wādī* of hell and it is the place about which Allāh, may He be exalted, said 'And a wall shall be set up between them, having a door in the inward whereof is mercy, and the outward thereof is chastisement'.<sup>45</sup>

Commentators tried also to identify the place of the *sāhira* in Su. *al-Nāzi'āt* 14, which speaks of the creatures on the day of judgement. Wahb b. Munabbih spoke about that verse when he stayed in Jerusalem: 'Here is *al-sāhira*, that means, al-Quds'.<sup>46</sup> There is also an identification of *al-sāhira* with 'the piece of land which is under the monastery, where the road to Jerusalem is [most probably the road up to Jerusalem from the east]'.<sup>47</sup> It was also said that *al-sāhira* was 'a mountain near Jerusalem', and some identifications connect it with al-Šām in general.<sup>48</sup> One tradition on the authority of the Prophet Muḥammad states, "The people will be gathered by groups; the believer will not mix with the infidel and the infidel will not be mixed with the believer, and the angel of the trumpet will descend and stand on the Rock of Jerusalem, and the people will be gathered barefoot, naked and uncircumcised, and the sun will approach their heads while between it and

<sup>41</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 253, no. 384.

<sup>42</sup> See Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 265, no. 401; cf. Muḥammad b. Šams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf al-Aḥiṣṣā bi-Fadā'il al-Masḡid al-Aqsā*, MS The Hebrew University 116, f. 31b. below; Muḡīr al-Dīn (above, note 12), vol. 2, p. 411, line 20; al-Luqaymī (above, note 12), f. 22b, line 3. Cf. Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 253, no. 383 and see al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 21, no. 24.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 202, no. 291.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268, no. 407. On the *abdāl* see Livne-Kafri, *Early Muslim Ascetics* (above, note 20), pp. 122-124.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), pp. 77-78, no. 66; cf. J.H. Hirschberg (above, note 3), p. 329.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 254, no. 389. Cf. J. Horovitz, 'Wahb b. Munabbih', *EP*, vol. 4 (1934), pp. 1084-1085.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 235, no. 348. It was said also that *al-sāhira* is 'the piece of land which is beside the Mountain, the Mount of Olives'. See al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 48, no. 71; Ibn al-Firkāḥ, *Bā'it al-Nufūs* (above, note 12), p. 72, line 5.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmi' al-Bayān* (above, note 28), vol. 30, p. 38; al-Suyūṭī, *Kūṭāb al-Durr al-Manṭūr* (above, note 30), vol. 6, p. 312, line 29; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr* (above, note 32), vol. 4, p. 467; cf. al-Ṭabarī (above, note 28), p. 28 ('in the region between Mountain Ḥassān and the Mountain of Jericho'). See also al-Zasmāḥṣarī (above, note 32), vol. 2, p. 1575.

them there is a distance of sixty years . . . and they will come to the piece of land which is called *al-sāhira* and it is in the vicinity of Jerusalem . . .'.<sup>49</sup>

c3. Ibn al-Murağğā in his Guide to the Pilgrim recommends that the pilgrim go up the *sāhira* which is 'the Mountain of Olives'. He links this to an old tradition on Ṣāfiyya, the widow of the Prophet Muḥammad, who went to Jerusalem, climbed the Mount of Olives, and prayed there. This is connected with traditions mentioned above that Ṣāfiyya visited the Mount of Olives and prayed there, and said that this was the place where the people would be separated on the day of resurrection for heaven and hell.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, The Mount of Olives became a site for pilgrimage, and it is mentioned among the sacred mountains in commentaries to the Qur'ān and in the *ḥadīth*.<sup>51</sup>

#### d. Heavenly Jerusalem and the bridal metaphor

Some Muslim traditions speak of a heavenly Jerusalem, the most important of them referring to a heavenly Temple directed towards the earthly one. The origin of this idea is most probably Jewish, and it is also associated with the idea of a heavenly shrine opposite the Ka'ba in Mecca.<sup>52</sup>

Some of these traditions speak of precious stones in Jerusalem of the Future<sup>53</sup> and a partial connection at least seems to exist with Revelation in the New Testament. One of these traditions expresses the idea that the hour of resurrection will not come until seven walls of precious stones, gold, silver, clouds, and light are set around Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup> According to another tradition 'Allāh, may He be exalted, will send four winds from the sea in the direction of Jerusalem; they will uncover every stone and building and they will purify them from all the damages of men. Then he will build around it seven walls: a wall of light, upon which are the angels of holiness, and a wall of clouds and a wall of topaz and a wall of sapphire and a wall of pearls and a wall of silver and a wall of gold. It will be like a lamp. And the religion at that time will be the religion of truth, and truth will appear and Jesus son of Mary and the believers in him from this nation [the Muslims] will be the ones who will manifest the true religion, and he will be then in Jerusalem . . .'.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 234, no. 347. Cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 87, no. 142; see Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī' al-Maṣnū'a* (Cairo, 1352), vol. 1, pp. 52-53. On the 'spreading element' of Jerusalem in the end according to the Jewish sages, see Vilnai (above, note 37), pp. 113, 115.

<sup>50</sup> See Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 80, no. 68, and cf. above, notes 12-13.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), pp. 232-234, no. 343-346. Cf. A. Aptowizer, 'Heavenly Temple according to the Aggadah', *Tarbiz* 2 (1941), p. 272, n. 3 (in Hebrew). See above, note 12 (the example of the ascetic 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zakariyyā').

<sup>52</sup> Livne-Kafri, Navel (above, note 36), pp. 97-98.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. A. Aptowizer (above, note 51), pp. 270 ff.; E.U. Urbach, 'Heavenly Jerusalem and Earthly Jerusalem', *Yerušalaim Ledoroteha* (Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 169-171 (in Hebrew).

<sup>54</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 208, no. 299; cf. al-Maqdisī, *Muṭīr al-Ġarām* (above, note 16), f. 72a; Muğīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Ġalīl* (above, note 12), p. 213; see also Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (above, note 25), p. 97, line 11.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 210, no. 304; cf. Hirschberg (above, note 3), p. 327.

Or:

‘Allāh said to Jerusalem: Days and nights will not pass until I send down on you a dome from heaven, that I shall build with my own hands, and the angels will carry it. It will shine on you as the light of the sun and no human being will enter to it . . . and I will place around you a wall and a fence of clouds and five walls of topaz and sapphire and pearls and gold and silver. To you is the gathering (for the resurrection) and from you is the resurrection.’<sup>56</sup>

It was also transmitted that it was written in the Torah that Allāh said to *Bayt al-Maqdis*: ‘. . . I shall send to you water from beneath the Throne of Glory, and I shall wash you until I leave you like crystal [this is only one meaning of the word *mahā*] and I shall put around you a wall of clouds, its width twelve miles, and a fence of fire. I shall put on you a dome that I created with my hands . . .’<sup>57</sup> The last two traditions appear with certain changes also regarding the Rock of Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> Unlike Revelation 21, the Muslim traditions do not mention the city descending from heaven, but like what is said there they mention precious stones and the number twelve. There is also a connection between the Muslim traditions and what is said in Revelation as regards the width of the wall, the lack of need of sunlight, and water issuing from the Throne of Glory.<sup>59</sup> According to another tradition, the Rock, which on the day of judgement will be the place of the Throne of Glory and the place of the judgement, will turn into a white pearl, and its width will be like the width of heaven and earth.<sup>60</sup> According to an apocalypse of Ka’b al-Aḥbār mentioned earlier, the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik will build Jerusalem (*Īrūšalāyim*), which

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 208, no. 300; Regarding the dome cf. A.J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Verhandelingen Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen: Letterkunde XII, 1), Amsterdam 1916, p. 39, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 209, no. 301; cf. Hirschberg (above, note 3), p. 327, n. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 109, no. 122; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 71, no. 116; Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā’* (Cairo), vol. 6, p. 43 (item ‘Ka’b al-Aḥbār’); *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, (anon. above, note 16), ff. 49a-50a; al-Miknāsī, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis* (above, note 16), ff. 42a-43b; cf. al-Maqdisī, *Muḡīr al-Garām* (above, note 16), f. 69b-70a; see also Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 110, no. 123; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 72, no. 118; al-Ḥanafī, *al-Mustaḡṣā* (above, note 15), f. 31b.

<sup>59</sup> On the width of the wall see Revelation 21:12 ff. On not being in need to the light of the sun see *ibid.*, verse 23; water coming from the Throne of Glory cf. *ibid.*, 22:1.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 104, no. 108; cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923), vol. 1, p. 336; Ibn al-Firkāh, *Bā’iṭ al-Nuḡūs* (above, note 12), p. 64; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Faḍā’il* (above, note 32), f. 29a; *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), ff. 48a-48b; al-Kanḡī (above, note 16), f. 78a; al-Miknāsī, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-maqdis* (above, note 16), ff. 41a-41b; cf. al-Kanḡī, f. 72a; al-Maqdisī, *Muḡīr al-Garām* (above, note 16), f. 70a; Abū Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Aḥsār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1342), p. 138; Muḡīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Ġalīl* (above, note 12), p. 209; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 104, no. 109. On the Black Stone, which is a precious stone from paradise see H. Lazarus-Yafeh, ‘The Religious Problematics of Islamic Pilgrimage’, *Proceedings of the Israeli Academy of Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 11 (1976), p. 233 (in Hebrew); on the spread of Jerusalem see Urbach (above, note 53), p. 159.

is Bayt al-Maqdis and the Rock, which is called *al-haykal* (*hehal* in Hebrew: the Temple) with gold, silver and pearls . . .'.<sup>61</sup>

The 'bride motif', which appears in Revelation ('I saw the Holy City, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready like a bride adorned for her husband'),<sup>62</sup> appears differently in the Muslim traditions. According to one of them, which carries an obvious Jewish character (such as in the phrase 'I shall not forget you until I forget my right hand'; cf. Psalms 137:5), Allāh says to the Rock: ' . . . Days and nights will not pass unless each mosque in which the name of Allāh was mentioned, will gather to you. They will surround you the same way the riders surround the bride when she is carried to the house of her family . . .'.<sup>63</sup> This image is reserved to the Ka'ba, which on the day of resurrection will be conducted to Jerusalem like a bride conducted to her husband, and it will intercede for the people who went on a pilgrimage to it.<sup>64</sup> One tradition relates that the Ka'ba will visit Jerusalem on the day of judgement, and then both of them will be conducted to heaven with their inhabitants.<sup>65</sup> This is not the descent of a heavenly Jerusalem to earth, but the ascension of the Ka'ba and Jerusalem to heaven.

The bride motif was applied to other towns also,<sup>66</sup> especially those in constant conflict with external enemies (*ribā'āt; tuḡūr*). This is particularly evident in the traditions regarding the last day:

'Alexandria and Ascalon are two brides, and Alexandria is of a higher rank. When the day of judgement comes, it will be conducted as a bride to Jerusalem, along with its inhabitants'.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf. note 15. This tradition has a very clearly Jewish hue. Goitein connects the issue of the precious stones to Jewish sources, speaking of the external cover of the walls of the Dome of the Rock in mosaics and precious stones. See S.D. Goitein, 'Jerusalem during the Arab Period', *Jerusalem Researches of Eretz Israel* 4 (1953), p. 89 (in Hebrew).

<sup>62</sup> Revelation 21:2. According to Werblowski, clear evidence on heavenly Jerusalem as a bride (or a mother) is not found in ancient Jewish sources, but he believes that this idea already existed in the period of the Second Temple. See R.J.Z. Werblowski, 'Metropolis for All the Countries', *Yerušalaim Ledoroteha* (above, note 8), p. 75.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 110, no. 123.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211, no. 307; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 93, no. 153; see also *Faḏā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), ff. 50a-50b; al-Kašānī, *al-Mahaḡḡa al-Baydā'* (Teheran, 1339 AH), vol. 2, p. 154; cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, *The Religious Problematics* (above, note 60), p. 236.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 211, no. 306; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 40, no. 55; p. 92, no. 152; cf. Ibn Šaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Ḥajira* (above, note 27), p. 189. On heavenly paradise descending to Jerusalem see Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (above, note 25), p. 94. On the entire issue see also Livne-Kafri, *Navel* (above, note 36), pp. 99-101; *idem*, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions* (above, note 11), pp. 34-38.

<sup>66</sup> Cf., e.g., Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (above, note 25), p. 104: 'the two brides of this world are Ray and Damascus'; al-Dahabī, *Mizān al-Fitdāl fi Naqd al-Riḡāl* (Cairo, 1325 AH), vol. 1, p. 285: 'Ascalon is the bride of paradise'.

<sup>67</sup> 'Uḡmān b. al-Šalāh, *Faḏā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-ʿAsqalān*, MS Berlin 198, f. 2b. See also Ibn 'Arrāq, *Tanzih al-Šarī'a al-Marfū'a 'an al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḏū'a* (Cairo, 1378 AH), vol. 2, p. 62 regarding the glorification of Qazvīn that 'will become on the day of

The precious stones of Jerusalem, which descend from heaven, also appear in respect of the frontier towns: 'On the Day of Resurrection, Allāh will turn three towns into topaz, and they will be conducted as brides to their husbands. These are Ascalon, Alexandria, and Qazvīn'.<sup>68</sup>

e. Burial in Jerusalem and the Holy Land

The custom of burial in Jerusalem and in Holy Land is old, most probably as early as the end of the first century of the *hiġra*. Its roots lie partly in eschatological conceptions in Jewish and Christian traditions. This issue is not discussed in detail here.<sup>69</sup>

f. The Signs of the Last Day (*ašrāt al-sā'a*)

f1. Before the last judgement a period of terrible events is supposed to happen. The name *ašrāt al-sā'a*, the 'signs of the hour' (of the resurrection), was given to the specific circumstances (like social and political crises, wars, cosmic changes) that must precede the last judgement. In Judaism the parallel to *ašrāt al-sā'a* might be the terms *hevlei mašiah* or *ymot mašiah*.<sup>70</sup> Some events, like the appearance of Gog and Magog, are mentioned already in the Qur'ān, although important conceptions such as that of a *mahdī* (messiah), or of an antichrist, generally called *al-daġġāl*, are not mentioned there. The figure of this false Messiah, sometimes with the title of *al-Sufyānī*, has attracted the attention of many scholars, notably regarding the political aspects of the traditions.<sup>71</sup> A special Muslim terminology emerged to denote apocalyptic ideas, such as *fitan* ('trials', sing. *fitna*), generally relating to inner tribulations arising from major disturbances, civil wars, and schism within the Muslim community, and of *malāhim* ('wars', sing. *malḥama*) concerning warfare, generally with eschatological connotations, also against the infidels, principally the Byzantines.<sup>72</sup>

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resurrection, having two wings with which it will hover between earth and heaven; it will be a white pearl. Carrying its inhabitants . . . it will declare: I am Qazvīn, a part of paradise. I will intercede for those who came to me'. On the role of the Ka'ba interceding for the pilgrims, see Ibn al-Muraġġā (above, note 5), pp. 212-213, no. 309. Cf. A.E. Gruber, *Ferdienst und Rang, die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975), p. 61. On the entire issue see also Livne-Kafri, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 1), pp. 173-181; *idem*, 'Jerusalem and the Sanctity of the Frontier Cities in Islam', *Cathedra* 94 (1999), pp. 75-88 (in Hebrew).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82; *idem*, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 1), p. 180. Cf. Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, '*al-'Uṣf al-Wardī fī Aḥbār al-Mahdī*', in *al-Hawā' It-l-Fatāwā* (Cairo, 1351), vol. 2, p. 223: The people will gather around the *mahdī* (the Messiah) 'and they will conduct him like the bride conducted to her husband the day she gets married'.

<sup>69</sup> See in detail Livne-Kafri, 'Burial in the Holy Land and Jerusalem according to Muslim Tradition', *Liber Annuus* 53 (2003), pp. 417-425.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition* (above, note 2), p. 74, note 15. Cf. *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, s.v. 'aḥarit hayamim'.

<sup>71</sup> On the Mahdī see D.B. Macdonald, 'al-Mahdī', *EI*, vol. 3 (1936), pp. 111-115. Cf. e.g., W. Madelung, 'The *Sufyānī* between Tradition and History', *Studia Islamica* 63 (1986), pp. 5-48.

<sup>72</sup> Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition* (above, note 2), pp. 72-75.

In the Qur'ān, the descriptions of the last day are not connected to Jerusalem and in the *ḥadīṭ* literature this vision is not necessarily associated with Jerusalem. The signs of the hour mentioned in the Qur'ān, such as the appearance of Gog and Magog, are widely described in the *ḥadīṭ*. Besides the Qur'ānic portrayal, the *ḥadīṭ* literature absorbed Jewish and Christian materials, like the antichrist legend or the Jewish equivalent Armilus, and other materials.<sup>73</sup>

## f2. General picture of the signs

The following tradition is attributed to 'Awf b. Mālik, a friend of the prophet Muḥammad:

'I came to the prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, while he was in a certain building of his, and I saluted him, and he said:

Is that you, 'Awf? and I said, Yes, O prophet of God. And he said, come in . . . And he said, Count, 'Awf, six [signs] before the hour of the resurrection, of which the first is the death of your prophet (and I started to cry because of that, until the prophet of God started to hush me), say: One. And the second is: The conquest of Jerusalem, say: Two. And a death which will be amongst my nation which is like the murrain of the sheep,<sup>74</sup> say: Three. And the fourth will be a *fitna* in the midst of my nation (and he emphasized its severity), say: Four. And the fifth: Money will be in abundance, until a man will be given one hundred dinars and he will be unsatisfied, say: Five. And the sixth a ceasefire that will be between you and *banū al-aṣfar* [the Byzantines],<sup>75</sup> and they will march against you under eight flags, under each flag twelve thousand men; the shelter place for the Muslims [*fusṭāṭ al-muslimīn*]<sup>76</sup> will be then a place called al-Gūṭa, in a town called Damascus . . .<sup>77</sup>

To describe events which happen to the Muslims, this tradition uses also motifs known from Jewish and Christian traditions; however, one should not necessarily seek a historical parallel for every detail in this kind of literature. The death of Muḥammad (the first sign) opens a new era in the history of mankind, up to its

<sup>73</sup> See e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 77-79; *idem*, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions* (above, note 11), pp. 42-50. Cf. W. Bousset, 'Antichrist', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 578; D. Flusser, 'Antichrist', *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, vol. 4, col. 466-469. Cf. notes 101, 104.

<sup>74</sup> Or: a mortal disease or a murrain that befalls camels or sheep and the like: see: *mutān* (or *mawṭān*) in E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London 1865-1893), vol. 7, p. 2742; also: a sudden death (al-Wāsiṭī [above, note 15], p. 53, no. 86, note 5).

<sup>75</sup> See Lane (previous note), s.v. 'aṣfar', the expression 'banū al-aṣfar', also: from the descendants of aṣfar, the son of Rūm the son of Esau' (*al-rūm*: the Greeks [the Byzantines]).

<sup>76</sup> See Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Nihāya fī Garīb al-Ḥadīṭ* (Cairo, 1311), p. 200 (s.v. *fst*).

<sup>77</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 42, no. 34. Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313 AH), vol. 6, p. 25; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), f. 69b-70b. Cf. also Ibn Ḥanbal, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 174 with some changes. The sixth sign, for instance, is the conquest of Constantinople; vol. 6, p. 27. See also H. Lammens, 'Gūṭa', *ET*, vol. 2 (1927), p. 67. 'Awf b. Mālik al-Aṣḡa'ī, lived in Ḥims [d. 73 AH; cf. e.g., Ibn al-'Imād, *Saḍarāt al-Dahab* (Cairo, 1350-1351), vol. 1, p. 79]. It was said about him that 'he told the prophet [Muḥammad] may peace be on him: I fear lest I will not see you after this day, so tell me your will. He said: You have to go to the Mountain of the resurrection' (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā [above, note 5], p. 267, no. 406).

end in the resurrection.<sup>78</sup> The conquest of Jerusalem appears in an eschatological connection in the New Testament (and also in Jewish sources),<sup>79</sup> but there it carries a negative connotation, contrary to the positive attitude of the city's conquest in the time of 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb. The plague (mentioned in *ḥevlei mašāḥ* in the Jewish tradition and in the New Testament)<sup>80</sup> caused the death of many Muslims warriors of Syria and Palestine.<sup>81</sup> The *fitna*, the fourth sign, is related most probably to one of the civil wars of the first century AH (civil wars are also mentioned in the Jewish and the Christian apocalyptic).<sup>82</sup> The fifth sign might be connected to the 'easy money' that people had following the great conquests,<sup>83</sup> and the sixth sign is related to a certain stage of the fighting with the Byzantines, and its indecisive continuation.<sup>84</sup> Damascus appears as the central stronghold of Islam, and here the Umayyad element plays a part as well.<sup>85</sup>

### f3. Examples of specific issues

#### f3.1. Place of refuge

The last sign, 'the shelter place for the Muslims [*fustāṭ al-muslimīn*] will be then a place called al-Ġūṭa, in a town called Damascus . . .', is related to a much cited tradition which emphasizes the role of Damascus also in eschatology: 'The messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, said: *al-Šām* will be conquered for you and you have to go out to a city named Damascus and it is among the best towns of *al-Šām*, and it is a shelter for the Muslims from the

<sup>78</sup> See: ' . . . I am the last prophet, and you are the last among the nations, and he [the *dağğāl*, the antichrist of the Muslim tradition], will certainly appear among you' (Ibn Mağa, *Sunan* [Cairo, 1952-1953], vol. 2, p. 1359); cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Aḥbār Iṣbahān* (Leiden, 1931-1934), p. 281.

<sup>79</sup> See: D. Flusser, *Judaism and the Sources of Christianity* (Tel Aviv, 1979), p. 253 ff. (A Prophecy on Jerusalem in the New Testament; the article was published at first under the title 'A Prophecy on the freeing of Jerusalem in the New Testament', in *Eretz Israel* 10 [1971], pp. 226 ff. [in Hebrew]).

<sup>80</sup> See, e.g., Matthew 24:7; Even Shmuel (above, note 10), *The Book of Elijah*, p. 44.

<sup>81</sup> For traditions on the *ṭā'ūn* (plague) see, e.g., Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥaṣā'is al-Kubrā* (Cairo, 1967), vol. 2, p. 477; vol. 3, p. 212; Aslam b. Sahl al-Wāsiṭī, *Ta'riḥ Wāsiṭ* (Baghdad, 1967), p. 48; al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak* (Hyderabad, 1334-1342), vol. 1, p. 50; vol. 3, pp. 88-89.

<sup>82</sup> Cf., e.g., *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, s.v. 'aḥarit hayamim'; Matthew 24:10; Mark 13:12.

<sup>83</sup> Compare: 'If someone tells you: take land that is worth one thousand dinars for [only] one dinar—do not take' (according to H.Z. Hirschberg, 'The Footprints of the Messiah in Arabia the Fifth and the Sixth Centuries' in *The Memorial Volume to the Rabbinical Bet Hamidrāš in Vienna* [Jerusalem, 1946], p. 112, note 2 [in Hebrew]).

<sup>84</sup> It is hard to determine a definite date for this matter. For an example of a non-belligerency agreement with the Byzantines on hard conditions of taxation and humiliation at the time of 'Abd al-Malik, see Muḥammad b. Ġarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk* (Leiden, 1879-1901), ed. De Goeje, second series, vol. 2, p. 796.

<sup>85</sup> Cf., e.g., G.E. von Grunebaum, 'The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities', A. Badawi (ed.), in *Melanges Ṭāhā Husain* (Cairo 1962), p. 26.

*malāhim*; and *fusṭāt al-muslimīn* will be then a land called al-Ġūṭa, in a town called Damascus, and their shelter from *al-daġġāl* is Jerusalem, and the shelter from Gog and Magog is the Mountain'.<sup>86</sup> This tradition might be combined with a large body of traditions in which *al-Šām* and Jerusalem appear as a refuge place for those who follow the right path, from the time of Abraham to the time of the messiah. As mentioned, ascetic perceptions, Umayyad interest, motifs of local-patriotism, and the absorption of Jewish and Christian material formed the background for the creation of such traditions.<sup>87</sup> Jerusalem and the mountain<sup>88</sup> parallel Damascus; the *daġġāl*, the antichrist of the Muslim legend, and Gog and Magog, who will bring destruction to the world, will not be victorious everywhere. Certain holy geographical places will serve as strongholds against them. This element of protection through the very stay in Jerusalem was transferred in many traditions to Mecca and Medina, but also to other places.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Ibn al-Muraġġā (above, note 5), p. 215, no. 314; cf. Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḥ Madīnat Dīmašq*, ed. Šalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaġġid (Damascus, 1951-1963), vol. 1, p. 228, line 5; see also Ibn Ḥanbal (above, note 77), vol. 4, p. 160; vol. 5, p. 197 bottom; p. 270, line 9; *al-Mustadrak* (above, note 81), vol. 4, p. 486; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (above, note 25), p. 104, line 8; al-Raba'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Šām wa-Dīmašq* (Damascus, 1950), p. 20, no. 53; p. 27; Abū al-Ṭayyib, *Awm al-Ma'būd* (Medina, 1389), vol. 2, p. 406; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), ff. 115a-115b; al-Maqdisī, *Muṭīr al-Ġarām* (above, note 16), ff. 18a-18b; 62b; 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Badrī, *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Maḥāsīn al-Šām* (Baghdad-Cairo 1341), p. 357; 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ša'rānī, *Lawāqīḥ al-Anwār al-Qudsīyya* (Cairo, 1961), p. 514; Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'riḥ al-Kabīr* (Damascus, 1329-1349), vol. 1, p. 49; Ibn 'Asākir, *Madīnat Dīmašq*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 219-233; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Cairo, 1950-1951), vol. 4, pp. 158-159; al-Ġarrāḥī, *Kašf al-Ḥafā' wa-Muzīl al-Ilbās* (Cairo 1351-1352), vol. 1, p. 449; al-Manīnī, *al-Flām bi-Faḍā'il al-Šām* (Jerusalem, 1944), p. 56; al-Sulamī, *Tarġīb Ahl al-Islām fī Suknā al-Šām* (Jerusalem, 1940), p. 13; al-Mundirī, *al-Tarġīb wa-l-Tarḥīb min al-Ḥadīṯ al-Šarīf* (Beirut, 1968), vol. 4, p. 63, no. 18; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf* (above, note 42), f. 108b; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Ḥadā'iq al-In'ām fī Maḥāsīn al-Šām*, MS Princeton 3047 (4429), ff. 18b, 19b; Ibn al-Firkāḥ al-Fazārī, *Muḥtaṣar al-Flām*, MS Princeton 4416 (241), f. 9a; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Durr al-Nizām fī Maḥāsīn al-Šām*. Ms. Princeton, the Yahuda collection 1862 (4427), f. 8a. As regards Damascus serving as a stronghold against a ruler who will take power over the whole world see also al-Ġarrāḥī (this note), vol. 1, p. 460, line 24.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Even Shmuel (above, note 10), p. 103, and there regarding Biblical verses according to which there will be a 'remnant' (*pleta*) in Mount Zion and Jerusalem (Joel 3:5; Obadiah 17) to prove that Upper Galilee will be a refuge for the Jews. Concerning Jerusalem, compare what was said about 'Heftsiba, the mother of messiah Menahem ben 'Amiel standing in the Eastern Gate, where that wicked one [Armilus] shall not enter' (*ibid.*, pp. 80-81). Cf. our note 89 below.

<sup>88</sup> Mount Sinai (cf. M.J. Kister, 'You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques, A Study of an Early Tradition', *Le Muséon* 82 [1969], pp. 177, note 16), or: The Mount of Olives (perhaps preferable here). Cf. Lane (above, note 74), s.v. 'tūr'. Cf. note 95 below.

<sup>89</sup> See also 'the shelter of the believers from the *daġġāl* is *bayt al-maqdis*' (Ibn al-Muraġġā [above, note 5], p. 216, no. 316); cf. Muġīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Ġalīl* (above, note 12), p. 207; Ibn al-Muraġġā, p. 223, no. 328. See Wensinck, *The Navel of the Earth* (above, note 56), p. 140 (concerning Mecca), 137 (concerning Medina) and: Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zarkašī, *Flām al-Sāġūd bi-Aḥkām al-Masāġid* (Cairo, 1385), p. 253; 'Alī

According to a tradition attributed to the prophet Muḥammad: 'The building of *Bayt al-Maqdis* (*bunyān bayt al-maqdis*) is the destruction of Yaṭrib [Medina], and the destruction of Yaṭrib is the coming of the *malḥama*, and the coming of the *malḥama* is the conquest of Constantinople, and the conquest of Constantinople is the coming out of the *daḡḡāl*'. The traditions reflects the decline of Medina in the Umayyad period, parallel to the extensive building activities in Jerusalem in the seventies of the first century AH. M.J. Kister thinks that the creation of that *ḥadīth* belongs to that period.<sup>90</sup> The wish for a decisive victory over the Byzantines (*al-rūm*), maybe hinting at a specific event,<sup>91</sup> appears in many traditions. The conquest of Constantinople proves to have an important role in the eschatological picture, and this might also be linked to the attitude to the fall of Rome in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic. A commentary to a Qur'ānic verse states about the Byzantines that their disgrace in this world will be the conquest of Constantinople in the time of the messiah, the *mahdī*.<sup>92</sup> The *mahdī* will return to Jerusalem the treasures of the Temple taken to Rome by Titus; according to one tradition he will fight the Byzantines and bring out from a cave in Antioch the Ark of the Covenant (*tābūt al-sakīna*).<sup>93</sup>

b. Abī Bakr al-Haytamī, *Maḡma' al-Ḥawā'id* (Cairo, 1352-1353), vol. 3, p. 298; Sa'd al-Dīn al-Isfarā'īnī, *Ḍubdat al-A'māl wa-Hulūṣat al-Af'āl*, MS Paris 1632, f. 29a. On the Šī'ite holy city of Qum, see al-Maḡlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* (Iran, 1301-1315), vol. 14, p. 308. Note a saying that Galilee was a refuge for the prophets of Israel in times of *fitan* (Ibn Šaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Ḥaṭīra* [above, note 27], p. 38); this might be compared with the story about the gathering of the Jews in Galilee around the messiah, son of Joseph; see Even Shmuel (above, note 10), pp. 103, 121, 135; cf. above, note 87.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 209, no. 303; cf. al-Wāsītī (above, note 15), p. 54, no. 81; Ibn Ḥanbal (above, note 77), vol. 5 p. 232, 245; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (above, note 86), vol. 4, p. 157, no. 1589; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), f. 138b; Abū al-Tayyib (above, note 86), vol. 2, p. 400; al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād* (Cairo, 1931/1349), vol. 10, p. 223. See also al-Tirmidī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidī* (Cairo, 1931-1934), pp. 90-91; Ibn Māḡa, *Sunan* (above, note 78), vol. 2, p. 36; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 234, line 24; al-Ḥanafī, *Kitāb al-Mustaṣṣā* (above, note 15), f. 40a, line 2; Kister, *Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem* (above, note 30), pp. 185-186.

<sup>91</sup> In this connection we may mention the great raid of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik on Constantinople. According to one source, he started it from Jerusalem. See Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 226, no. 333. Cf. Aḡmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Muṣṭar al-Garām bi-Faḍā'il al-Šām*, ed. Aḡmad Sāmīḥ al-Ḥalīdī (Jaffa, 1365), p. 45; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf* (above, note 42), f. 64a.

<sup>92</sup> See Livne-Kafri, 'A Note on Some Traditions of *Faḍā'il al-Quds*' (above, note 9), p. 81.

<sup>93</sup> Ḡalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *'al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 68), pp. 234-235. According to a tradition, in Antioch are hidden the Torah, the staff of Moses, the broken Tablets of the Covenant, and the table of Solomon (Šams al-Dīn al-Dahabī, *Taḍkīrat al-Huffāz* [Hyderabad, 1375-1377], vol. 2, p. 765). Cf. similarly: Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Maḡrūḥīn* (Hyderabad, 1970), vol. 2, p. 37. According to this tradition Antioch will be the abode of a scion of the house of Muḥammad who will bring justice on earth. Antioch also has a role in the Jewish eschatological image (see Midrash Zerubavel, in Even Shmuel [above, note 10], pp. 77, 81), and 'the staff with which the signs were made' (Aharon's staff), will be delivered to the Messiah Menahem ben Amiel by his mother Heṭsiba (*ibid.*). Cf. Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (above, note 5), p. 35, no. 24; al-Wāsītī (above, note 15), p. 37, no. 49; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), f. 83b.

f3.2. The *dağğāl*

The *dağğāl*, the false messiah, the antichrist of the Muslim tradition, is not mentioned in the Qurʾān. Its descriptions in the *ḥadīth* literature are connected to Jewish, and still more to Christian traditions.<sup>94</sup> He is represented in one tradition in the image of a terrifying monstrous giant that ‘. . . The earth will be folded for him and for his friends [i.e., distances will be shortened for him] and he will level the places of its gathering and return the waterplaces to their origin’. Exceptions are the four mosques: the mosque of Mecca, and the mosque of Medina, the mosque of Jerusalem, and the mosque of the mountain [Mount Sinai]. Here the four mosques appear as the only refuge places at the end, and this is also related to the struggle on the sanctity over the mosques as described by Prof. Kister.<sup>95</sup>

One tradition emphasizes that ‘there has never been a *fitna* more severe than that of the *dağğāl*’. It says that Jesus (ʿĪsā) will come to Jerusalem at the time of dawn-prayer. The *imām* who leads the prayer will step back so that Jesus may lead the prayer, but Jesus will leave him to do it. Then Jesus will order the gate to be opened; there will be the *dağğāl* along with seventy thousand Jews all girding swords. When the *dağğāl* looks at Jesus he will melt like salt in water and he will try to run away, but Jesus will reach him at the Lod Gate (Bāb Ludd). The Jews will be killed by the Muslims as well.<sup>96</sup>

In another tradition Jesus as the Muslim messiah will win a victory over the *dağğāl* in Jerusalem. He will first appear in the mosque of Damascus, where the Muslims, Christians, and Jews will gather, each group hoping to have Jesus for itself. A lottery by arrow will decide in favor of the Muslims. Jesus will come from Damascus to Jerusalem when the city is besieged by the *dağğāl*. He will order the gates opened and he will follow the *dağğāl* to the Lod Gate. The *dağğāl* will melt like wax and Jesus will kill him with one blow. After thirty or forty years Gog and Magog will appear, and Jesus will destroy them as well. Then ‘the earth will restore its blessing to the point that a group of people will gather at one bunch of grapes! and at one pomagranate! God will extract the poison from all serpents; the serpent will be in the company of a boy, and the lion with the cattle . . .’<sup>97</sup> Another

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Hirschberg, *Footprints* (above, note 83), p. 120; Even Shmuel (above, note 10), pp. 79, 96. There might be a loan from the Muslim legend here as well. See *ibid.*, p. 177, editor’s introduction to Nistarot Rabbi Simon Bar Yohai.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 218, no. 319; cf. Muğīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Ġalīl* (above, note 12), vol. 1, p. 207. Cf. *Muḥtaṣar Tuḥfat al-Anām*, MS Princeton 4560, ff. 31b-32a. The notion is connected to Qurʾānic ideas (cf. Su. 20, 195); cf. also a similar idea in Isaiah 40:4. Compare Hirschberg (above, note 3), pp. 343-344, and see our note 89, and Kister, *The Three Mosques* (above, note 88), pp. 173-196.

<sup>96</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 216, no. 317; cf. al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 15), p. 62, no. 100; *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon. above, note 16), ff. 86b-87a. Cf. Ibn Mağa (above, note 78), vol. 2, p. 1359, no. 4077; see also *ibid.*, pp. 1361-1362. See also Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 216, no. 315; p. 240, no. 358 (*al-masīḥ al-dağğāl*).

<sup>97</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 217, no. 318. cf. *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* (anon., above, note 16), f. 126a; *Tuḥfat al-Anām* (above, note 95), ff. 30b-31a; *Muḥtaṣar al-Iʿlām* (above, note 86), f. 36a; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Madīnat Dīmašq* (above, note 86), vol. 1, p. 217. Cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Šanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaḥ* (Simlak-Dabhiil, 1970-1972), vol. 11, pp. 400-410; Ibn Ḥanbal (above, note 77), p. 75.

tradition tells that Elisha and Elijah (Alīsa<sup>6</sup> and Ilyās) will warn the people against the *dağğāl*. He will pretend to be God, but they will deny it. The angel Michael will prevent him from entering Mecca and Gabriel will protect Medina. The *dağğāl* will flee along with the *munāfiqūn* (hypocrites). At that time there will be in Jerusalem 'the group through whom God conquered Constantinople', and other Muslims that will join them. A warner (*naḍīr*) will come to warn them against the *dağğāl*, who will seize him and kill him; then he will resurrect him in order to prove his divinity, but he will fail to do it a second time and the people will start doubting him. The *dağğāl* will hurry to Jerusalem, where Jesus will kill him at the Lod Gate.<sup>98</sup> According to this tradition God will make the earth short so that the distance to Lod Gate will be half an hour; the intention seems to be Lod, the town. But according to one tradition, 'Bāb Ludd (Lod Gate) in which as related by the prophet, may peace be on him, Jesus son of Mary will kill the *dağğāl*, is not the gate of the church in Ramla, but it is the western Gate of David which is at the *mīrhāb* of David, may peace be on him; it is called the Gate of Lod'.<sup>99</sup> It is possible that there was a certain belief connected to Lod or Ramla, which was transferred to Jerusalem.<sup>100</sup>

These traditions seem to reflect the legend of the antichrist, including its anti-Jewish tone.<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to note that the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, according to apocalyptic Christian conceptions, turns into their conversion to Islam

<sup>98</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 219, no. 321. According to one tradition the dead resurrected by the *dağğāl* will be al-Ḥaḍīr ('Abd al-Razzāq [previous note], p. 393, no. 20824). Cf. A.J. Wensinck, 'al-Ḥaḍīr', *EI<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 902-905; *idem* and G. Vajda, 'Ilyās', *EI<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 3 (1971), p. 1156. See also al-Sahāwī, *al-I'lān bi-al-Taubih* (Damascus, 1349), p. 137; al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Ḥamīs fī Ahwāl Anfas Nafts* (Cairo, 1283), vol. 1, p. 87; cf. the traditions in 'Abd al-Razzāq, *ibid.*, p. 389 and Ibn Ḥanbal (above, note 77), vol. 3, p. 420. Cf. also al-Tirmidhī (above, note 90), vol. 9, p. 90-98; *Durr al-Nizām* (above, note 86), f. 13a.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 219, no. 320; quoted from Ibn al-Murağğā by Muğīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Galīl* (above, note 12), vol. 2, p. 407.

<sup>100</sup> This entire issue is discussed with great care and extensive documentation by A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem* (above, note 23), pp. 134-136. Elad suggests that 'the church gate near Ramla' is to be identified with St. George's church in Lod. According to him, the killing of *al-Dağğāl* at Lod or at the gate of St. George's church might be drawn from the Christian legend about St. George's slaying a dragon.

<sup>101</sup> See the sources mentioned in note 96. According to the Christian tradition the antichrist belongs to the people of Israel (the tribe of Dan); see, e.g., B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), 49. He will be born in Babylon and educated by the forces of evil. See Limor (above, note 37), p. 137. On the origin of the *dağğāl* in the east, according to the Muslim legend, see, e.g., Ibn Mağā (above, note 78), vol. 2, p. 1354; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muḡam al-Ṣaḡīr* (Medina, 1968), vol. 1, p. 260; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Aḥbār Iṣbahān* (above, note 78), vol. 2, pp. 4, 49. The anti-Iraqi traditions describing Iraq as a land of evil and magic and as the land of Satan might be connected with such a conception, see, e.g., O. Livne-Kafri, 'On Jerusalem in Early Islam', *Cathedra* 51 (1989), p. 55, and see there on the political significance against the background of the Syrian-Iraqi struggle. On the *dağğāl* emerging in Iraq, see also 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaf* (above, note 97), vol. 11, p. 396. Cf. O. Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1985, p. 276, end of note 298.

in the Muslim tradition. 'The Ark of the Covenant (*tābūt al-sakīna*) will be revealed by the *mahdī* in the lake of Tiberias, and it will be carried and set before the *mahdī* in *Bayt al-Maqdis*; when the Jews will look at it they will become Muslims, except for a few. After that the *mahdī* will die'.<sup>102</sup> Jews as well as Christians are rejected in the 'lottery tradition', and the Muslims appropriated the vision of 'the wolf will live with the lamb...' (Isaiah 11:6). Jesus appears as a Muslim messenger, who elsewhere is described as breaking the symbols of Christianity and leading the world in the ways of Muslim prayer.<sup>103</sup> Other elements mentioned in the traditions, like the appearance of Elisha and Elijah, the revival of the dead and the killing of al-Ḥaḍīr, and the angel Michael serving as a shield against the *dağğāl*, basically return to the Christian legend, but also to the Jewish legend.<sup>104</sup> The figure of the just imam might be paralleled somehow with the emperor of the last day, who will destroy the enemies of Christianity and will abdicate his place in favor of the Divine rule.<sup>105</sup> Another important sign connected with Jerusalem (Gog and Magog)

<sup>102</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā (above, note 5), p. 222, no. 323; cf. al-Maqdisī, *Muṭīr al-Garām* (above, note 16), f. 89a; Muğīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Galīl* (above, note 12), vol. 1, p. 237; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf* (above, note 42), f. 57a; al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā'if al-Uns* (above, note 12), f. 32b; al-Suyūṭī, *Al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 68), p. 244. Cf. a saying of Jewish sages: 'From there [Tiberias] Israel shall have redemption' (*The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, vol. 18, col. 104).

<sup>103</sup> See H. Lazarus-Yafeh, 'On the Messianic Idea in Islam', in *Messianism and Eschatology* (above, note 11), p. 172. f. *ibid.*, p. 173; cf. al-Ṭabarānī (above, note 101), vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>104</sup> Compare the appearance of Elijah and Enoch (who never died, according to the Biblical text), to protect the Christians from the antichrist and their revival. See, e.g., McGinn (above, note 101), pp. 50, 87; Limor (above, note 37), p. 138. On the role of Michael against the antichrist, see McGinn, p. 87. On the figure of Elijah as the prophet of the end see also Flusser (above, note 79), pp. 281-282. On Elijah as the herald of the Messiah according to Jewish tradition, see, e.g., Cf. *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, s.v. 'aḥarit hayamim', col. 457; Even Shmuel (above, note 10), e.g., pp. 86, 122, 131, 136, 225; Hirschberg, *Footprints* (above, note 83), pp. 119-120. On the figure of Michael see, e.g., Even Shmuel, pp. 131, 224-225. For 'melting the *dağğāl*' see Isaiah 11:4 '... with the breath of his lips he will slay the wicked'. Cf. *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, col. 449 below; Even Shmuel, p. 87 concerning Menahem ben Amiel (the messiah) who will kill Armilus in this way, or Messiah son of David (p. 97, and the editor's notes on p. 92). The number 'forty' (forty years of *ymot mašiah*) in the tradition mentioned (above, note 97), returns to the Jewish tradition. See, e.g., *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, col. 455, chapter 4; Even Shmuel, pp. 137, 224. In the traditions In Praise of Syria and Damascus it is said that al-Šām will be destroyed forty years after the destruction of the world (Ibn al-Murağğā [above, note 5], p. 320, no. 531), and likewise Damascus (al-Raba'ī [above, note 86]), p. 38, no. 66; Ibn 'Asākir, *Madīnat Dimasq* (above, note 86), vol. 1, part 2, p. 7 below). On the stay of the *dağğāl* on earth see e.g., Ibn Ḥanbal (above, note 77), vol. 6, p. 454, line 12; p. 459, line 16. Compare a saying of a Jew to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik that he will rule for forty years (G. Van Floten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le khalifat des Omayyades* [Amsterdam, 1984], p. 56). See also al-Suyūṭī, *Al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 68), pp. 238-239; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manṭūr* (above, note 30), vol. 3, p. 113.

<sup>105</sup> On the development of the legend of the last emperor see, e.g., Limor (above, note 37), p. 139 ff.; B. McGinn, (above, note 101), pp. 49-50; 75-76.

will not be discussed here in detail. Gog and Magog (*ya'ǧūǧ wa-ma'ǧūǧ*) are mentioned in the Qur'ān but not in connection with Jerusalem. The Alexander legend of peoples arrested beyond a wall or a dam does have a parallel in the Qur'ān, and the picture in the commentaries to it and in the *ḥadīṭ* generally shows them rising at the end to destroy the world. As in the book of Ezekiel, Gog and Magog appear as the enemies of God behaving arrogantly towards Him, and God is the one who will fight them and overthrow them near Jerusalem.<sup>106</sup>

g. Political eschatology in the Muslim traditions on Jerusalem

The emergence of the *mahdī*, the messiah of the last days, partly reflecting Jewish and Christian perceptions, was not necessarily connected with cosmic changes or with the resurrection. A large body of relevant political traditions replete with apocalyptic portrayals was created, primarily during the seventh and the eighth centuries AD. The claim to power and the problem of legitimacy of authority, not only of the descendants of 'Alī, was the setting for the creation of such traditions. Such traditions on Jerusalem reflect the struggle of tribes participating in the political and military confrontations during the Umayyad period (661-750), for example, the tribe of Kalb, the emergence of the 'Abbāsids from Ḥurāsān, rebellions of 'Alīds and pro-Umayyad groups in Syria against the 'Abbāsids, and more. In these apocalyptic traditions Jerusalem is presented as the final goal and the place of victory of the powers of justice over the powers of evil, just as it is in the universal picture of the end. The whole subject will be treated at length in a separate article.<sup>107</sup>

True enough, Jerusalem has a unique role in eschatology according to the Muslim traditions 'In Praise of Jerusalem'. This is an extremely important aspect of the sanctification of Jerusalem in early Islam, as propagated by Muslim scholars, rulers, ascetics, converted Jews, and others. It concerns spiritual ideas as well as customs and cults, and it is reflected in the religious sites of the city. The basic teaching of the Qur'ān on apocalyptic matters was combined, mainly in the *ḥadīṭ* literature and commentaries to the Qur'ān, with the Jewish and Christian legacy; the outcome is a diverse picture, still within the framework of the Muslim value system, which elevates the status of Jerusalem but is associated with other aspects of eschatological views as a whole in Islam. Traditions related to the end of days and Jerusalem should not be studied separately from other diverse features of the sanctification of Jerusalem in early Islam, such as the place of the city in cosmology, the debate over its place as a center of pilgrimage, or the character of the circles that contributed to the shaping of the idea of its sanctity.

<sup>106</sup> See e.g., Livne-Kafri, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions* (above, note 11), pp. 49-50.

<sup>107</sup> See in detail, *ibid.*, pp. 50-56. The conception of a Sufyānī (begun in the Umayyad period, and named after Abū Sufyān, father of Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty) plays an important role in such traditions, some of which were created during the first 'Abbāsīd period. He appears both as a figure of the *daǧǧāl* and as a hero, depending on the trend reflected. Cf. note 71.